RELATED ISSUE 1

Should nation be the foundation of identity?

Key Issue
To what extent should we embrace nationalism?

Related Issue 1
Should nation be the foundation of identity?

Related Issue 2
Should nations pursue national interest?

Related Issue 3
Should internationalism be pursued?

Related Issue 4
Should individuals and groups in Canada embrace a national identity?

Chapter 1

Nation and Identity
Are nation and identity related?

Chapter 2

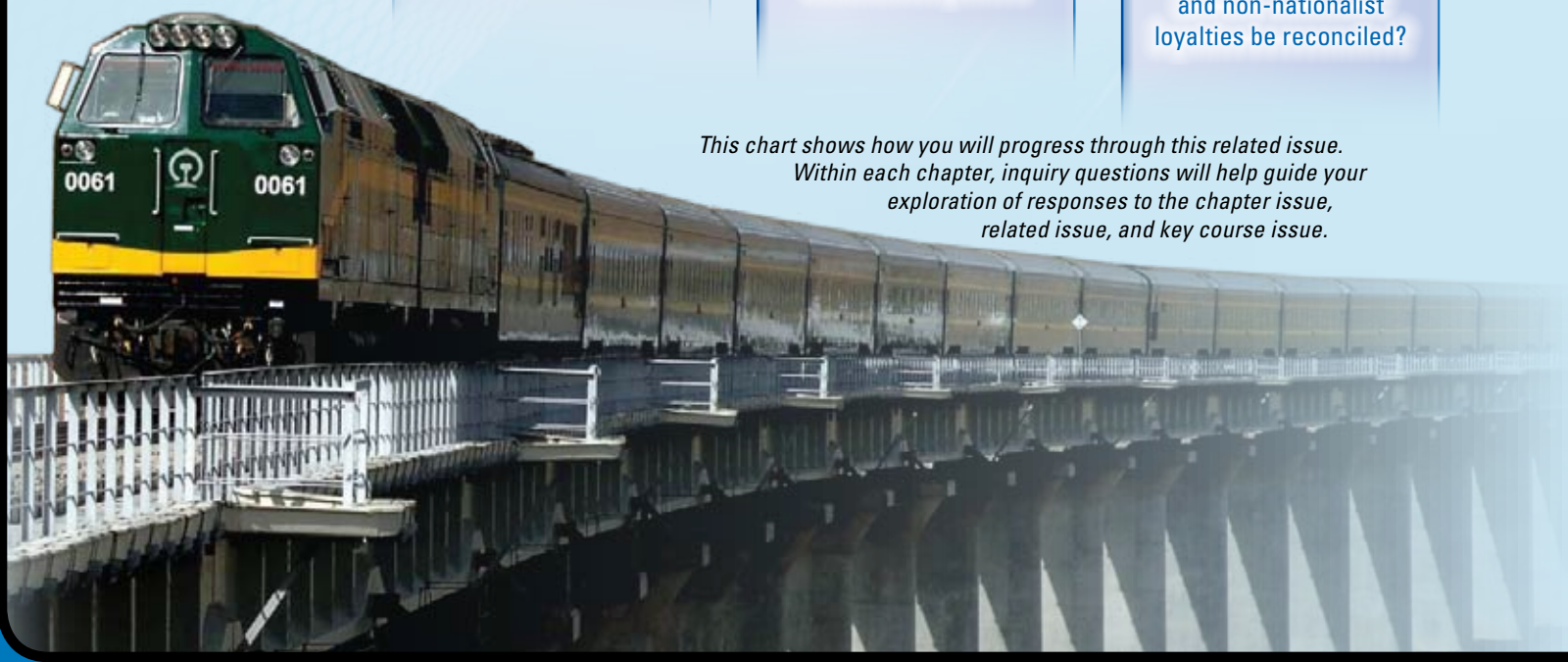
Shaping Nationalism
How do external and internal factors shape nationalism?

Chapter 3

Reconciling Nationalist Loyalties
How should people reconcile their contending nationalist loyalties?

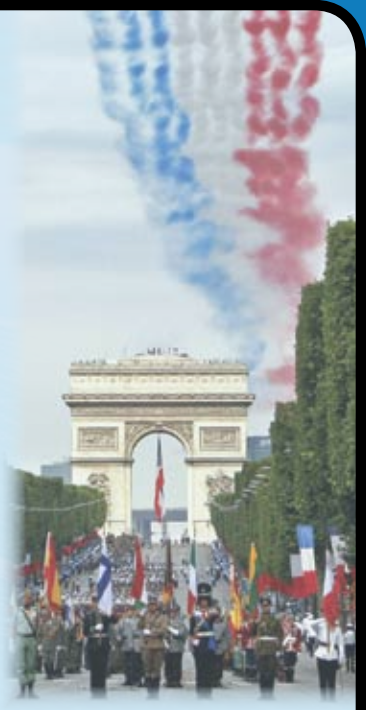
Chapter 4

Reconciling Nationalist and Non-Nationalist Loyalties
How can nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties be reconciled?



This chart shows how you will progress through this related issue. Within each chapter, inquiry questions will help guide your exploration of responses to the chapter issue, related issue, and key course issue.

THE BIG PICTURE



In the same way as your personal identity evolves and grows, so too does the identity of nations. You may, for example, identify yourself in terms of your values, beliefs, spirituality, and heritage. But how does a nation identify itself? By boundary lines on a map? Or is it more complicated than this?

As you progress through this related issue, you will explore answers to these questions and many others. You will discover that nations are built on many foundations and that the way a nation views itself — and is viewed by others — is influenced by many factors. These factors, such as national and international events and natural disasters, are sometimes beyond the control of any one individual, collective, or nation.

As you explore this related issue, you will come to appreciate

- that people have different understandings of nation, nation-state, and nationalism — and that these understandings can change over time
- that the relationships that link identity, nation, nation-state, and nationalism are complex and dynamic
- that nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties — and the way people reconcile them — often shape people's choices
- that the forces of nationalism have played a role in shaping Canada and the world — and are likely to continue to do so

Your Challenge

Create a two-page spread for a magazine or e-zine. The purpose of your spread is to explore and present an informed position on the question for this related issue:

Should nation be the foundation of identity?

Your Two-Page Spread

Imagine that you are a journalist working at a magazine for Canadian youth. The editor has asked you to contribute a feature to a special Canada Day edition. Your feature will explore connections between nation and identity in one of two ways:

- by creating a two-page spread for a print magazine
- by creating two screens for an online version of the magazine

At the end of each chapter in this related issue, you will complete the skill builder shown on the chart on the facing page.

When you have finished all four skill builders, you will have created your two-page spread or two screens.

As you prepare the materials for your challenge, use the Checklist for Success on this page to make sure your magazine spread or e-zine includes everything necessary to be successful.

What to Include

Your spread will include photographs, drawings, headlines, titles, captions, and a paragraph that clearly shows your informed opinion on whether nation should be the foundation of identity.

✔ Checklist for Success

My two-page spread or e-zine . . .

Knowledge and Understanding	☐ shows my understanding of nation and nationalism and their relationship to identity ☐ states my position in my choice of headline and in the paragraph ☐ includes valid evidence to support my position
Selection, Analysis, and Evaluation of Information	☐ shows that I have used a variety of sources ☐ reflects diverse points of view and perspectives ☐ shows the criteria I used to make judgments ☐ analyzes my bias through the support material selected
Presentation	☐ presents a consistent message ☐ is suited to my purpose and audience ☐ is supported by graphics and uses technology appropriately ☐ uses appropriate spelling, grammar, and language

How to Complete Your Challenge

The items you create for each skill builder will become part of your presentation. Completing these four activities will help you complete the challenge successfully.

As you complete each activity

- ask a classmate or your teacher for feedback
- on the basis of the feedback you receive, revise your work to make it more accurate, dynamic, and effective

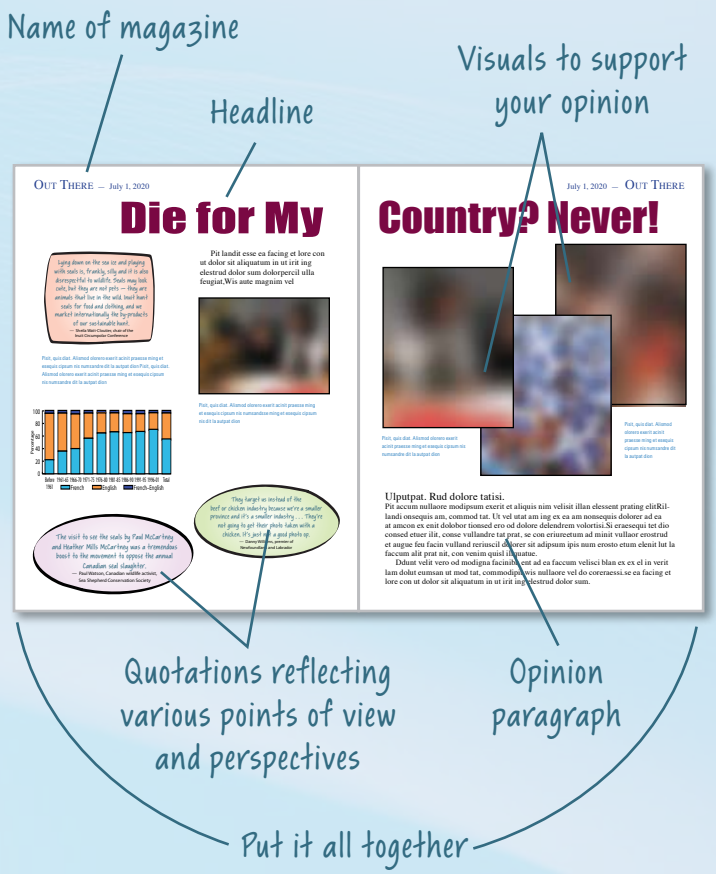
At the end of Chapter 4, you will assemble your two-page spread.

- Sketch a rough layout and ask a classmate or your teacher for feedback.
- Adjust the layout to reflect the feedback you received.
- Write the final draft of your opinion paragraph.
- Complete the two-page spread and present it to your classmates and teacher.

Challenge Tip

Examine current magazines and e-zines to see how designers have presented information in ways that attract and interest readers.

Your two-page spread might look similar to this.



Your Challenge Skill Builders		
Focus of the Skill Builder	**What You Will Do**	**When You Will Do It**
Assessing Bias Critical and creative thinking	**Choose a name and headline** Choose a name, assess your biases, and choose — or create — a headline.	End of Chapter 1 Nation and Identity
Using Visuals and Other Resources to Support Your Opinion Applying the research process	**Add visuals and quotations** Find quotations, as well as photographs or other visuals, to support your opinion. Write captions for the visuals.	End of Chapter 2 Shaping Nationalism
Writing a Supported Opinion Paragraph Demonstrating skills of textual literacy	**Plan and draft an opinion paragraph** Draft and revise an opinion paragraph.	End of Chapter 3 Reconciling Nationalist Loyalties
Communicating Effectively Developing skills of media literacy	**Put it all together** Edit opinion paragraph, organize design, and complete the final layout.	End of Chapter 4 Reconciling Nationalist and Non-Nationalist Loyalties

CHAPTER 1

Nation and Identity

Figure 1-1 Keenan (left) and his brother, Matt, wear their finest Canadian apparel for the 2007 Canada Day parade in Montréal. Many Canadians feel a sense of pride in their country. Some express this pride openly, as Keenan and Matt are shown doing here. Others simply enjoy a sense of belonging.

CHAPTER ISSUE

Are nation and identity related?

ALL OVER THE WORLD, people like to express in public who they are. They paint their faces, wave flags, hold up banners, dress in decorative clothing, and wear T-shirts with slogans. They may even decorate their cars or their bicycles. Have you ever made a strong statement, such as Keenan and Matt did in the Canada Day parade shown in the photograph on the facing page? What were you saying about who you are?

Examine the picture of Keenan and Matt, then respond to the following questions:

- What symbols and colours did Keenan and Matt choose when they dressed up for the parade? What do these symbols and colours communicate?
- What does taking part in the parade say about Keenan and Matt? How is it a way for them to express their Canadian identity?
- How would you make a statement of your feelings about Canada? What would it show about who you are?
- The photographer chose to take a picture of Keenan and Matt for a reason. What do you think it was? If you were to take a picture to show Canadians expressing who they are, what picture would you take?

KEY TERMS

nation
country
nation-state
international
patriotism
ethnic
sovereignty
self-determination
civic nation
constitution

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will explore whether nation and identity are related. You will do this by responding to the following questions:

- What are some concepts of nation?
- What are some understandings of nation?
- What is a civic nation?
- In what ways can identity and nation be related?

My Journal on Nationalism

Jot down words and phrases that express your current ideas about nationalism. If you prefer, sketch some images. Date your ideas and keep them in a notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file. You will revisit them as you progress through this course.

Should a country use war memorials as national symbols?

Figure 1-2 At the Vimy Memorial rededication ceremony and other memorial events in France, Métis fiddler Sierra Noble of Winnipeg played "The Warrior's Lament." Noble, who was a teenager at the time, was deeply moved by the experience. "I don't know how I didn't start to cry," she said later. "There was such pride to be there."

What are some concepts of nation?

The idea of **nation** means different things to different people. Some people think of a nation as a **country** — a distinct physical territory with a government. Others think that nation has nothing to do with physical borders or government. Instead, they understand a nation to be people who share a sense of belonging together. Other understandings of nation also exist.

What words would you use to describe what "nation" means to you? Does your idea of nation involve physical borders or a state of mind — or both?

Nation as Us

"Every nation has a creation story to tell." With these words, Canadian prime minister Stephen Harper began a speech to 15 000 people at the Canadian National Vimy Memorial in France. The people included dignitaries, soldiers, students, and ordinary Canadians. They had gathered on April 9, 2007, to remember a story from Canadian history. The story was about a battle that had taken place 90 years earlier.

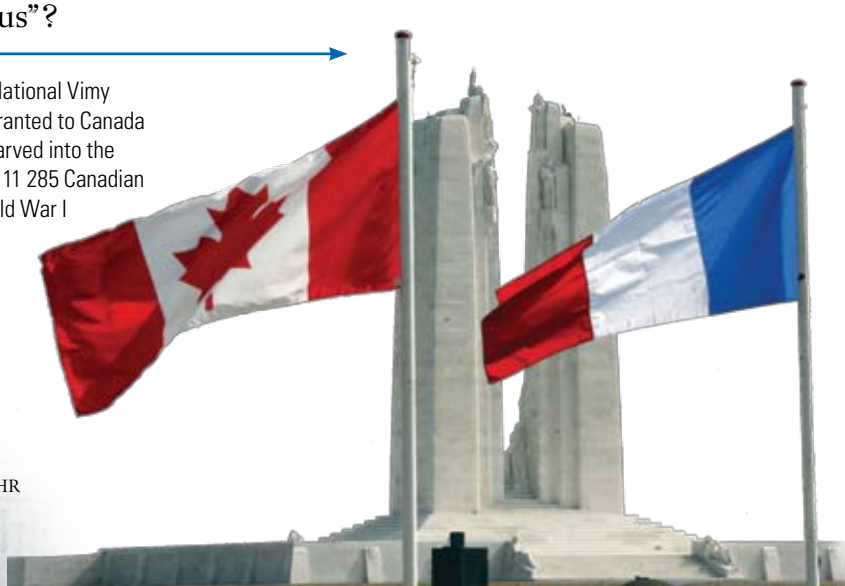
During this battle, Canadian soldiers achieved something that changed Canada. Before this battle in 1917, Canadian army divisions had always fought separately from one another. But at the Battle of Vimy Ridge, all four Canadian army divisions fought together for the first time as a single unit. And they were successful. They captured a vital military position that the armies of Britain and France had failed to win.

Many Canadians believe that this event changed Canada. People were proud. They felt as if they belonged together as a people. The victory helped Canadians believe that, together, they could achieve great things.

Some people believe that when a people begin to think of themselves as "us," they become a nation. Vimy gave Canadians a pride in "us" — and many Canadians continue to feel this pride today.

Do you agree with Stephen Harper's view that Vimy represents Canada's "creation story"? Think about what you know about Canadian history. What other stories could have given Canadians that first sense of "us"?

Figure 1-3 The Canadian National Vimy Memorial stands on land granted to Canada by France to use forever. Carved into the memorial are the names of 11 285 Canadian soldiers who fought in World War I but whose bodies were never found.



Country and Nation

Telling the difference between a country and a nation can sometimes be hard because people often use the two words to mean the same thing. And many widely used related words and phrases seem to suggest that their meaning is the same. Here are some examples:

- "**Nation-state**" means "country."
- "**International**" means "between countries or nation-states."
- "Nationalism" means, among other things, "striving for a country."
- Only countries can be members of the United Nations.

At the same time, many people believe that a country is different from a nation. Think about the Tsuu T'ina Nation. Tsuu T'ina view themselves as a nation because they are a people with a clear sense of belonging and a desire to control their own destiny. But they are not a country. What is the difference? Look back at the exploding concepts in the margin of page 20 for some clues.

Think, for example, about Canada.

- Canada can be thought of as a country that stretches from sea to sea to sea. It is a nation-state with physical borders and a single federal government. The government makes laws and conducts other business on behalf of all Canadians.
- Canada can also be thought of as a nation. The Canadian people share many values and beliefs, such as the right of all citizens to vote in elections. Canadians feel that they belong together.

Do you think of Canada as merely your country — the place where you live? Or do you think of Canada as your nation — people who share your values and beliefs? Is being Canadian part of your identity?

FYI

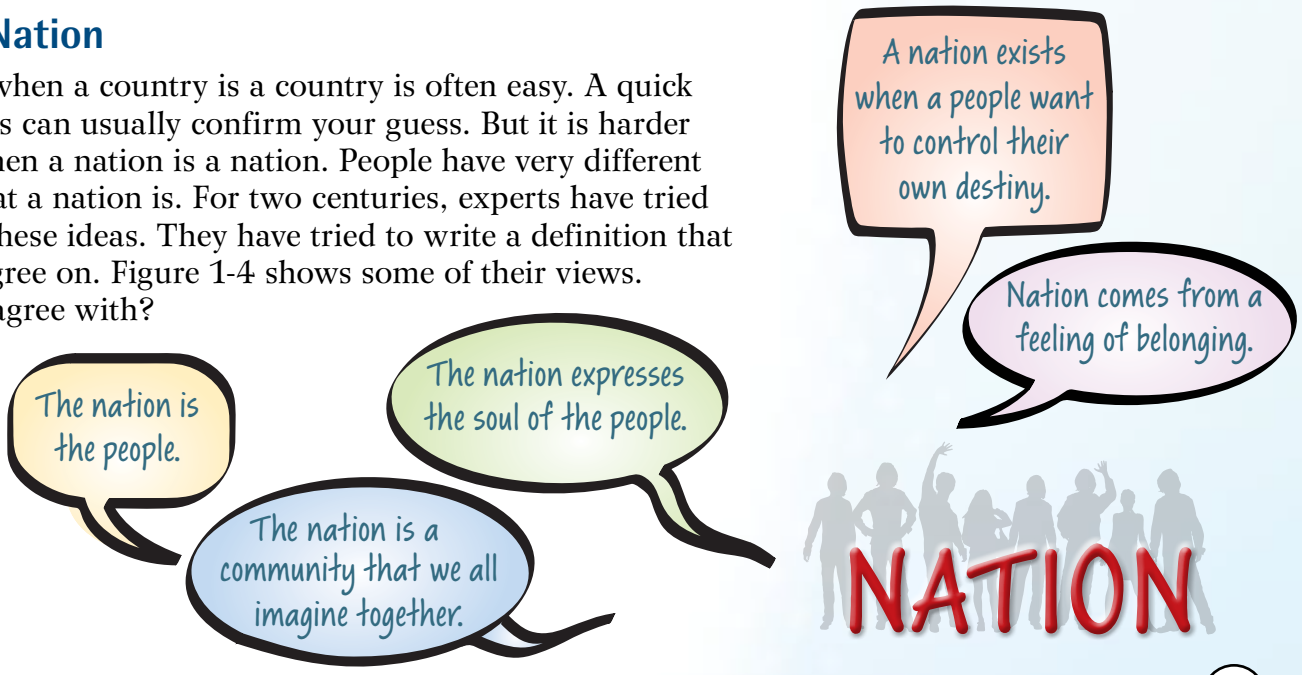
The number of countries in the world is disputed. The United Nations includes 192 member countries. But this number does not include Vatican City, which is independent but has chosen not to join the UN.

And there is disagreement over Taiwan. Most Taiwanese consider their country independent, but China claims that the territory is a Chinese province. In 2007, about 25 governments recognized Taiwan as a separate country, but others — including Canada's — did not. When Vatican City and Taiwan were counted in 2007, the total number of countries in the world was 194.

Country or Nation

Pinning down when a country is a country is often easy. A quick check of an atlas can usually confirm your guess. But it is harder to figure out when a nation is a nation. People have very different ideas about what a nation is. For two centuries, experts have tried to understand these ideas. They have tried to write a definition that everyone can agree on. Figure 1-4 shows some of their views. Which do you agree with?

Figure 1-4 Some Understandings of Nation



THE VIEW FROM HERE

What is a nation? What does the idea of nation have to do with identity? In the past, many people have tried to answer this question. People still think about it today. Here are some people's thoughts about what a nation is.

One of the first to think about what makes a nation was **Johann Gottlieb Fichte**, an 18th-century German philosopher. He believed that a shared identity was the most important factor. He thought that people who share the same roots — ancestors, culture, and language — form a nation.

> Those who speak the same language are joined to each other by a multitude of invisible bonds by nature herself, long before any human art begins; they understand each other and have the power of continuing to make themselves understood more and more clearly; they belong together and are by nature one and an inseparable whole.

Benedict Anderson is an Irish professor of international studies. In 1983, he published a description of nation that is used by many scholars today. He says that a nation is a community that is *imagined*.

> [The nation] is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them . . . It is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.

Ernest Renan was a 19th-century French philosopher who believed that a nation begins with shared roots but that something more is needed — the people's soul.

> A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle . . . To have common glories in the past and to have a common will in the present; to have performed great deeds together, to wish to perform still more — these are the essential conditions for being a people.

Clément Chartier is president of the Métis National Council. In November 2006, he talked about what nation means to Métis.

> The Métis Nation, as an Indigenous people, developed its own identity, language, culture, way of life, and self-government prior to Canada's crystallization as a nation-state . . . Based on this existence, the Métis Nation possesses the inherent right of self-determination and self-government.

EXPLORATIONS

1. Which idea most closely matches your thinking about nation? Explain the reasons for your choice.
2. Which idea most closely matches your understanding of Canada? Explain the reasons for your choice.

Collective Identity and Nation

Paying attention to language can help you identify the collective aspect of nation. When talking about their nation, people often use words like "we," "us," and "our." When retelling the tale of Snow White, for example, Arthur Quiller-Couch wrote: "As soon as the palace guns announced [the birth of a daughter], the whole nation went wild with delight . . . Even strangers meeting in the street fell upon each other's neck, exclaiming: 'Our Queen has a daughter! Yes, yes — Our Queen has a daughter! Long live the little Princess!'"

Think about why Quiller-Couch used the phrase "the whole nation." Who was he talking about? The government? A territory? The people? Then think about why the people said "our queen" rather than "the queen" or "my queen." What does this word choice tell you about the links between nation and collective, or group, identity?

Collective identity is part of many understandings of nation. Think about the groups you belong to. Your family and school might be at the top of your list. But you might also belong to other collectives. Do you, for example, belong to a religious group? A language community? A country? Not all groups are nations — but a sense of collective identity is a key aspect of all nations.

Does using collective language like "we", "us", and "our" automatically place people in opposition to "them"?

Us and Them

Using terms like "we," "us," and "our" shows that people are thinking collectively. But when people think of themselves as "us," they may think of others as "them."

Ralph Waldo Emerson was an American writer and philosopher. He told a story about an Englishwoman who was travelling in Germany. She overheard some Germans talking about the English tourists as "foreigners." She exclaimed that, "No, we are not foreigners; we are English; it is you that are foreigners."

An attitude that divides the world into "us" and "them" can lead to conflict between peoples. What do you think the Germans might have thought about the Englishwoman's statement? What do you think they might have said in response?

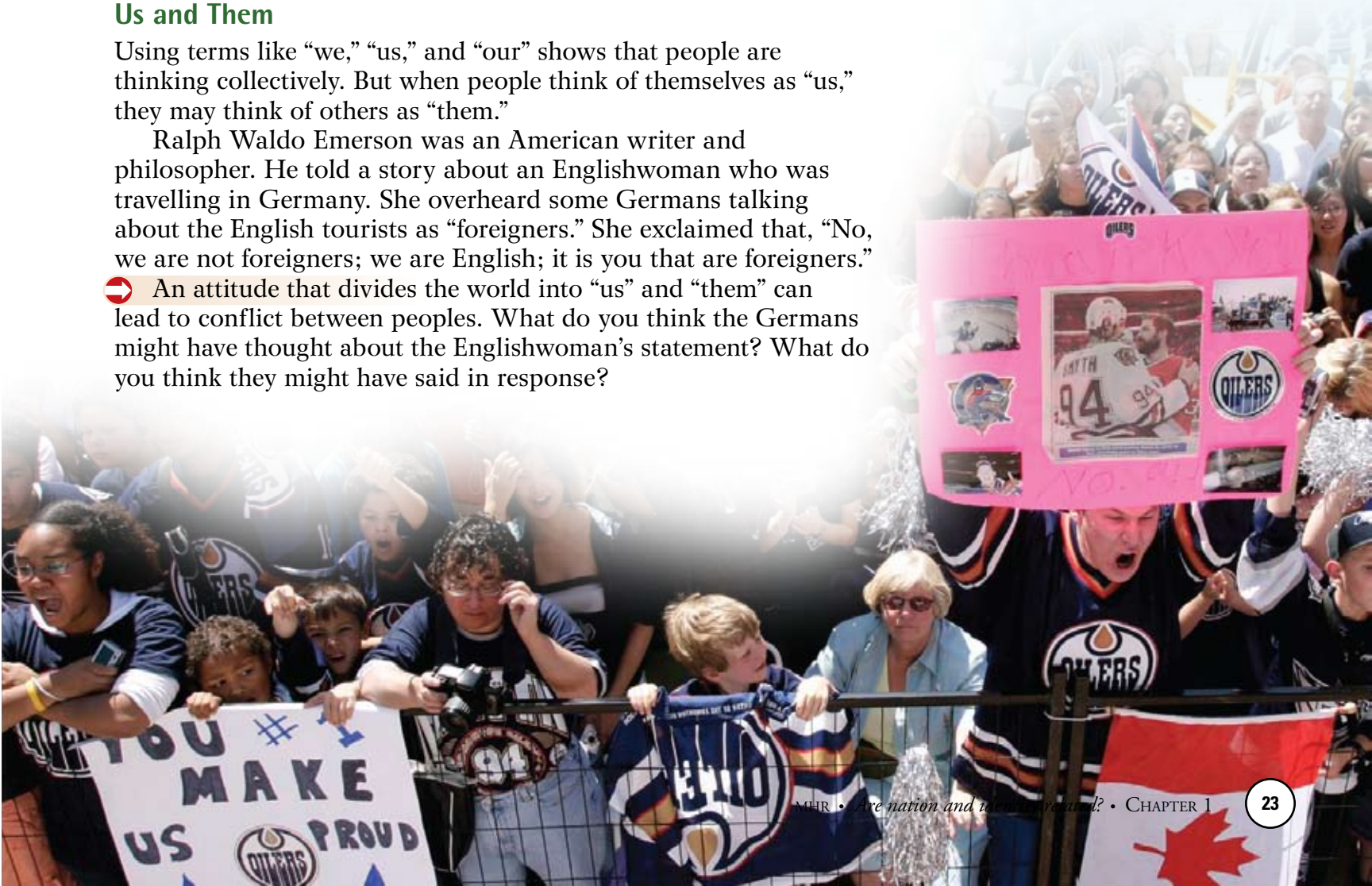


Figure 1-5 Fans cheer the Edmonton Oilers at a rally honouring the team's 2006 Stanley Cup run. Alberta hockey fans sometimes call themselves "Flames nation" or "Oilers nation." Why do they think of themselves as a nation? Who is the "us" on the sign in the photograph? Does using this term really make these fans a nation? Are the terms "us" and "them" a reflection of bias?

Patriotism and Nation

Many of the thousands of Canadians who attended the Vimy Memorial rededication ceremony in April 2007 were expressing their **patriotism** — their love of their country or nation. They were also honouring the patriotism of the soldiers who fought, and especially those who died, in World War I.

People express patriotism in different ways. Historica is an organization dedicated to exploring Canadian history. In 2007, Historica asked a patriotism-related question on its online forum. The question asked high school students whether they would die for their country. Their responses were mixed, as the following selection shows. How would you answer this question?

Is dying for one's nation the greatest way to show patriotism?

Would you die for your country?	
Susan M. (Marystown, Newfoundland and Labrador) Posted 03-18-2007 10:29 AM	For me the answer would depend on the circumstances. If I was fighting for my country for a cause I believe in, I wouldn't mind dying for Canada. However, if the cause we were fighting for was something that I didn't believe in, I would not be willing to die for my country. As I said, it all depends on the circumstances.
Lesley M. (Corner Brook, Newfoundland and Labrador) Posted 03-22-2007 06:47 PM	No, I would not die for my country!!! I would protest and argue and discuss and get royally angry for my country. I don't really want to die for it. Dying seems a bit counterproductive to me.
Robert R. (Oshawa, Ontario) Posted 04-03-2007 02:39 PM	Yes, I would die for my country. I love my country and every Canadian citizen. To me Canada is one of the greatest countries in the world.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Jot a list of words and phrases that describe nation. Scan the pages you have read so far to help jog your memory. To scan a page, run your eyes quickly over it, watching for important clues.
2. Examine your list. Draw a circle around words or phrases that you think best describe the idea of nation. Use your list to create a mind map with the word "nation" at the centre. Organize your ideas in bubbles around this centre. Use size, colour, and shape to highlight the concepts of nation that are most important to you. Include a legend that explains your use of size, shape, and colour.

What are some understandings of nation?

Many scholars believe that "nation" refers to people who share ideas about themselves. These collective ideas spring from a variety of sources — a shared language, ethnicity, culture, religion, geography, relationship to land, spirituality, and politics (see Figure 1-7).

CheckForward >>>

You will read more about Québécois, as well as Aboriginal peoples, and the idea of nation in Chapters 8, 13, and 16.

Language

English is the first language of up to 480 million people around the world. But few would say that the world's English speakers make up a single nation. Still, when a single language — whether it is English or another language — is spoken by a great many people, it can create a feeling of belonging so powerful that it inspires a sense of nation.

Bernard Pivot is a French journalist. He expressed the importance of language to the people of France: "Language is our mother. We absorb language with our mother's milk. Language is our oxygen. Language is inside us. It's in our heads, our hands . . . our bodies. Ripping our language from us is like ripping out half a pound of flesh."

What words or phrases would you choose to describe Pivot's feelings about the importance of language to the collective identity of the French people?

Many Francophones from countries such as Haiti, Lebanon, and Vietnam have immigrated to Québec. Can these immigrants be called Québécois?

Language in Québec

Sharing a language helps people see the world in similar ways. People who speak a language fluently can understand each other deeply.

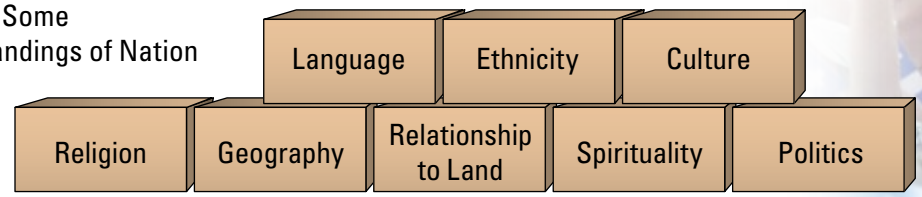
In Québec, for example, French is the first language of more than 80 per cent of the people. Many Québécois are descended from people who came from northern France in the 17th and 18th centuries. Over the centuries, Québécois French has become distinct from the French spoken in France. Québécois understand one another at a very deep level. This helps give them a strong feeling of belonging together.

In November 2006, the Conservative government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper recognized the Québécois as a nation. But his motion, which was passed by Parliament, said that they are a nation "within a united Canada." The wording referred to Québécois — the people — rather than to Québec — the Canadian province.

Why do you suppose Harper chose to call Québécois, but not Québec, a nation? Why is Harper's distinction between Québécois and Québec important to Canada?

Figure 1-6 Québécois celebrate Fête nationale every June 24. This holiday originally marked the Catholic feast of St-Jean-Baptiste, the patron saint of French Canada. In 1977, the Québec government changed this name to Fête nationale. This means "national celebration." Which nation is being celebrated? How might this change affect the way this holiday is celebrated? What bias on the part of the government did this name change reveal?

Figure 1-7 Some Understandings of Nation



How could an ethnic nation exclude people? Would this be fair?

Ethnicity

Gi-Wook Shin, a Korean-born expert in international studies, once said, "Koreans have developed a sense of nation based on shared blood and ancestry." Shin was talking about a people who share similar **ethnic** — racial, cultural, national, or linguistic — characteristics because they share the same ancestors.

If someone mentioned the Vietnamese nation, you would probably think that she or he was talking about people who live in the Southeast Asian country of Vietnam — and whose language, culture, and ancestors are Vietnamese. In some ways, you would be right. But many people of Vietnamese heritage, including many Albertans, do not live in Vietnam. And not all Vietnamese citizens are of Vietnamese heritage.

Still, many nations have come into being because people share the same ethnicity. The Japanese and Norwegian nations are other examples.

Many people believe that basing the idea of nation on a shared ethnicity helps protect a people's collective identity. But others believe that this idea is dangerous because people may begin to think in terms of "us" and "them."

Figure 1-8 Vietnamese teenagers rush into a bookstore to buy the final book in the Harry Potter series. These teens are all individuals, but they share ethnic characteristics that come from their common heritage. What might be some benefits of living in a community with people who share the same heritage?

Culture

Culture — the ways of life that people share — can also inspire a sense of nation. Sometimes, both culture and ethnicity play a strong role in developing a sense of nation; at other times, culture is more important.

In Canada, First Nations have distinct cultures. These distinct cultures help form their understanding of themselves as nations. The traditional territory of the Haida, for example, is on the West Coast. As a result, Haida culture is different from that of Prairie First Nations, such as the Piikani. And the culture of the Piikani is, in turn, different from that of the Anishinabé.

Both the Haida and Piikani peoples are Aboriginal, but their cultures are very different. How is each image in Figure 1-9 connected to national identity?

Figure 1-9 Nicole Nicholas (right) is a Haida teenager and author. The Haida created totems to record and express family history and relationships. The other photograph shows lodges built by the Piikani of Alberta. Both the totem and the lodge had practical uses, but they were also a form of cultural expression. They show the distinct cultural traditions of the Haida and Piikani.

Religion

In ancient times, Jews lived in Judea, which was part of the country now known as Israel. But the Romans drove many Jews out of Judea. These Jews settled in countries around the world.

Communication among Jewish communities was limited by both geography and politics. As a result, Jewish communities developed distinctive cultures and languages. In various communities, for example, Jews speak Hebrew, Yiddish, Ladino, English, and other languages.

Despite these differences, the Jewish sense of nation survived — and religion played a key role in this. The Torah — the Jewish scripture — teaches that Jews are a nation. The Torah says, for example, "The Lord said to Abram . . . I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you."

Rabbis explain the ideas behind these words to Jews. In the same way, priests, Elders, mullahs, imams, ministers, and other religious leaders pass on the religious traditions of other peoples. These traditions help people share religious beliefs, which can contribute to a sense of nation.

VOICES

Israel is the very embodiment of Jewish continuity: It is the only nation on earth that inhabits the same land, bears the same name, speaks the same language, and worships the same God that it did 3000 years ago.

— Charles Krauthammer, Pulitzer Prize–winning political commentator, 1998

Geography

Mountains, oceans, and deserts are physical barriers that isolate peoples from one another. When peoples are isolated by geography, they develop in their own ways.

Tibet is an example. For thousands of years, Tibetans were isolated on the vast Tibetan plateau. As a result, they developed a distinct language and culture, as well as religious beliefs and forms of government.

Examine the map of Tibet in Figure 1-11. What physical features isolated the people of the Tibetan plateau? How might this isolation have influenced Tibetans' collective identity as expressed through their language, culture, religion, and forms of government?

Figure 1-10 In July 2006, the Qinghai–Tibet Railway carried its first passengers between Golmud, in China, and Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. In its first year, this rail line transported more than 1.5 million people into Tibet. Most were Chinese. Some people predict that this railway will bring an end to Tibetan culture. What do you think they might mean? How might this prediction be seen as biased by some people?

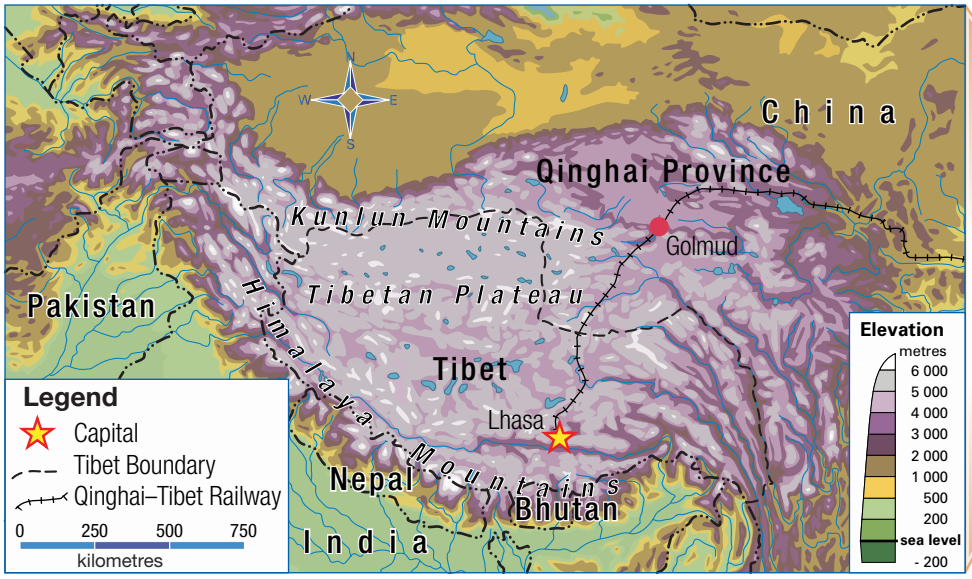
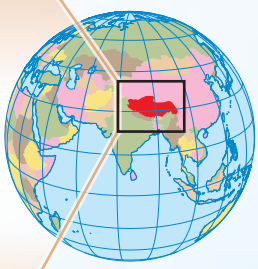


Figure 1-11 Tibet



To see a more detailed map of Tibet in the world, turn to the map appendix.

Relationship to Land

Land can influence nations in ways that go far beyond the isolation created by geographic barriers. Different geographic areas, for example, provide different resources. These resources influence the way people live. What are some geographic influences that affect your life?

In addition, particular places can also inspire a sense of awe and wonder in people. Niagara Falls and the hoodoos of southern Alberta, for example, have inspired people over the centuries.

"Spirit of place" is a phrase that is often used to describe the spiritual connection between human beings and a particular place. In *Nitsitapiisinni: The Story of the Blackfoot People*, the writers described the unique relationship between the Siksika people and their traditional territory. This territory lies east of the Rocky Mountains in what is now southern Alberta and Saskatchewan, and the American state of Montana:

> Our sacred sites are places where significant things happened to our ancestors. This is where the ancient stories took place. These sites are uniquely important to us. They tell us that our ancient stories are true. They tell us that we belong to this place in a way that no other human being can.
>
> Our sacred geography shows us our path through life. By following this path, our people will live long and productive lives.

Examine Marilyn Dumont's poem in "Voices" and the quotation from *Nitsitapiisinni*. With a partner, create a graphic organizer or another image that shows the connections between geography, a people's relationship to the land, and their feeling of nation.

Spirituality

A people's relationship with the land is sometimes linked to the spiritual connections that unite them. A place can be deeply important to people for many reasons. It may bring peace of mind. It may be "home" — where you belong. It may provide a connection to your ancestors. It may be the place where something important in your life happened, so that you feel a spiritual connection to it.

But people also develop spiritual bonds that are not directly related to the land. Plains First Nations, for example, may use spirit bundles; burn sage, sweetgrass, and cedar; and take part in collective ceremonies such as a powwow or the annual Sun Dance. These traditions are powerful connections to their spirituality.

People today use many strategies to stay in touch with their spiritual identity. Many attend religious services. Some practise meditation, yoga, tai chi, or feng shui. Others listen to music, watch the sun set, or go hiking in favourite outdoor places. What do you do to stay connected with your spirituality?

NOT JUST A PLATFORM FOR MY DANCE

this land is not
just a place to set my house my car
my fence

this land is not
just a plot to bury my dead my seed

this land is
my tongue my eyes my mouth

this headstrong grass and relenting
willow
these flat-footed fields and
applauding leaves
these frank winds and
electric sky

are my prayer
they are my medicine
and they become my song

this land is not
just a platform for my dance

— *Marilyn Dumont, Métis poet, in* A Really Good Brown Girl, *1996*

If spirituality is an aspect of individual identity, how can it also be a building block of a nation?

Politics

In 1965, the United Nations General Assembly was debating what to do about the Chinese takeover of Tibet in 1949. Delegates were talking about whether Tibet is a nation. Frank Aiken, the Irish ambassador to the UN, argued that it is. He said, "For thousands of years, or for a couple of thousand years at any rate, [Tibet] was as free and as fully in control of its own affairs as any nation in this Assembly." In Aiken's view, if a people has **sovereignty** — the political authority to control their own affairs — they form a nation. This view is shared by many.

Some people go farther. They believe that all that is required is the desire for sovereignty. In other words, if a people think of themselves as a nation, then they *are* a nation, even if they have not achieved political control.

Imagine that your father is an auto mechanic who has been teaching you auto mechanics for years. You have become expert at repairing cars. You have applied for jobs as a mechanic, but everyone says, "Get your papers first." If no one will hire you because you do not have a certificate, are you still a mechanic? If a people, such as Tibetans, are not officially recognized as a country, are they still a nation?

Think about the Dene Nation of the Northwest Territories. In 1975, Dene leaders expressed their people's desire for **self-determination** — the power to control their own affairs. Their declaration said:

> The Dene find themselves as part of a country. That country is Canada. But the Government of Canada is not the Government of the Dene. The Government of the N.W.T. is not the government of the Dene. These governments were not the choice of the Dene, they were imposed on the Dene . . .
>
> Our plea to the world is to help us in our struggle to find a place in the world community where we can exercise our right to self-determination as a distinct people and as a Nation.
>
> What we seek then is independence and self-determination within the country of Canada.

Web Connection

Many Tibetans believe that their nation is an independent country and have set up a government in exile. To find out more about Tibet and its government in exile, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Figure 1-12 Jessica Simpson (left), James T'seleie and Jennifer Duncan of the Arctic Indigenous Youth Alliance examine a map at a 2004 alliance meeting in Yellowknife. The alliance opposes a proposed 1200-kilometre natural gas pipeline to bring gas from the Mackenzie Delta in the Northwest Territories into northern Alberta. How does citizen involvement like this affect the status of a nation?

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. List the eight understandings of nation explored in this section. For each, identify one people for whom this understanding was — or is — very important.
2. Rank the eight understandings of nation in order of importance to you. Then choose one of the peoples you listed in Activity 1. Do you think their ranking would be different from yours? If so, explain how and why. If not, explain why not.

What is a civic nation?

In 1966, Charles Hanley wrote: "In the psychological sense, there is no Canadian nation as there is an American or French nation. There is a legal and geographical entity, but the nation does not exist. For there are no objects that all Canadians share as objects of national feeling."

Is Hanley right? Try testing your ideas about Canada as a nation against the criteria established in the previous section of this chapter. Is a shared language, for example, a foundation of Canada? A shared ethnicity? A shared religion? A shared geography?

You might have had a hard time answering yes to some of these questions. Each building block of nation may apply to various communities and peoples within Canada. But you might conclude — like Hanley — that no single language, ethnicity, culture, religion, or spiritual belief unites Canadians. In fact, many Canadians are proud of their differences, which they value and respect.

Picturing a Civic Nation

Figure 1-13 **Free and Fair Elections**
Six-year-old Paige Bonner waves to a poll clerk while her father marks his ballot in a voting booth in the 2006 federal election. In Canada, people vote in secret. This enables them to vote without fear.

Figure 1-14 **A Government That Reflects the Will of the People**
Prime Minister Stephen Harper and his family show their enthusiasm at the Calgary Stampede parade. The prime minister and the government must reflect the will of the people. If they do not, the people have the right to vote in a new government that they believe will better serve their interests.

Figure 1-15 **Active Citizenship**
Citizens participate actively in civic nations. Their involvement might include anything from volunteering with a 4-H club to struggling to bring power to the people. Grant MacEwan (1902–2000) was a well-known agriculturalist, broadcaster, and writer, whose many books often focused on little-known aspects of Alberta history. Later in life, MacEwan went into politics and served as the province's lieutenant-governor from 1966 to 1974. But his abiding interest was in recording Alberta's history for future generations.

Shared Values and Beliefs

Michael Ignatieff is a Canadian politician and historian. In *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*, he said that a **civic nation** is made up of people who share certain political beliefs. Ignatieff wrote that when people share these beliefs, their race, colour, creed, gender, language, and ethnicity do not matter. They form a civic nation. They become "a community of equal, rights-bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values."

Many people believe that Canada is an example of a civic nation. Examine the photographs on these two pages. The photographs show some aspects of a civic nation. If a civic nation unites people in respecting their shared values and beliefs, what photograph would you add to this collection to show another aspect of the civic nation? Which photograph might show that the idea of Canada as a civic nation may be inaccurate? Why did you choose this photograph? Can any society be perfect? If not, can the idea of a civic nation ever become a reality?

Figure 1-19 **Support for Social Programs**
Sylvia Hoang, an immigrant from Vietnam, with her two Canadian-born children. Canada's social programs help all Canadians become successful, active citizens. Social programs include everything from employment insurance to special programs such as English- and French-as-a-second-language classes to help immigrants become fluent in one of Canada's official languages.

Figure 1-16 **Freedom of Peaceful Assembly**
Maude Barlow, national chair of the Council of Canadians, speaks in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, at a 2006 protest against privatizing health care. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms gives all Canadians the right to meet, discuss, and peacefully protest anything they want without fear of arrest.

Figure 1-18 **Freedom of the Press**
The media question politician Stockwell Day outside the House of Commons. In Canada, reporters can — and do — ask questions of politicians. The freedom to ask questions and publish opinions about how well the government is doing its job is an essential tool in a successful civic nation.

Figure 1-17 **Equal Opportunity for All**
Liberal MP Pablo Rodriguez, who was born in Argentina, and his daughter, Béatrice, in his Ottawa office. Rodriguez represents the people of the Montréal riding of Honoré-Mercier. When this picture was taken in 2006, 41 of 308 Canadian MPs had been born outside Canada. All citizens, both Canadian- and foreign-born, are encouraged to participate equally in a civic nation.

Expressing Shared Values and Beliefs

Most civic nations have a **constitution**. This is a legal document that lays out the basic rules that a society is built upon. A constitution contains the core laws that define the nation and how it will be governed. In Canada, for example, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms makes up the first 34 sections of the Constitution. The Charter sets out the basic rights and freedoms of Canadians. Some of these rights and freedoms are mentioned in "Picturing a Civic Nation" on the previous pages.

A constitution often defines who can be a citizen and who should have special protection. It may also outline the rights and responsibilities of all citizens.

A constitution is valued by the people of a civic nation because it lays out the kind of society they want to live in. This is what the Canadian Constitution does — by expressing the values and beliefs shared by Canadians. As a condition of citizenship, all Canadians must abide by the ideas and rules set out in the Constitution. Elected politicians and the courts must support and conform with these ideas and rules.

Examine "FYI" on this page and scan the rights and freedoms set out in Figure 1-20. Was it a good idea to try to preserve and protect these rights by setting up a complicated amending process for the Constitution? Why or why not?

FYI

The Canadian Constitution was proclaimed in 1982. The Constitution cannot be amended — changed — by a simple majority vote in Parliament. Changing the Constitution is a complicated process that requires the support of all provincial legislatures. This complicated process was set up on purpose to preserve and protect the values and beliefs expressed in the Constitution.

Web Connection

To find out more about the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the basic rules that Canadian society is built upon, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Figure 1-20 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Section 2

Fundamental Freedoms

2. Everyone has the following fundamental freedoms:
   a) freedom of conscience and religion;
   b) freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication;
   c) freedom of peaceful assembly; and
   d) freedom of association.

Figure 1-21 A Hindu woman carries a Québec flag as she marches in a Canada Day parade in Montréal. On the basis of this photograph, what conclusion might you draw about the idea of Canada as a civic nation?

Nation and Nation-State

One understanding of the term "civic nationalism" suggests that a sense of nation emerges only after a nation-state has been created. The character of this nation then evolves over time.

Britain is an example of a civic nation that developed this way. Britain began as a nation-state made up of four nations: the Irish, Scottish, English, and Welsh peoples. Today, people of these four nations continue to live within the British nation-state, or country, but immigrants from other nations are also included. All these peoples share certain values and beliefs. As a result, they form a British civic nation.

Compare your understanding of Canada with the British civic nation. How is the idea of Canada as a civic nation similar to — and different from — Britain?

Figure 1-22 The British Civic Nation

Irish ethnic nation
+ Scottish ethnic nation
+ English ethnic nation
+ Welsh ethnic nation
+ People from other ethnic nations

British civic nation

Civic nationalism — of the French, British, and American type — defines the nation not in terms of ethnicity but in terms of willingness to adhere to its civic values. Ethnic nationalism — of the German and Polish type — defines the nation in terms of ethnic origins and birth.

— Michael Ignatieff, politician, political scientist, and historian, in Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism, *1993*

Civic Nationalism and Ethnic Nationalism

Civic nationalism is different from ethnic nationalism, which is based on shared ethnicity, culture, and language. In the early 1800s in Europe, for example, German-speaking peoples lived in a number of small states of different kinds. But many people supported the idea of a single German nation-state. They believed that the German nation consisted of everyone of German descent. In 1871, people in the many small German-speaking states united to form one nation-state: Germany.

How Forms of Nationalism Emerge

Figure 1-23 The people in this picture are Indians of South Asian descent. They belong to the Indian ethnic nation.

Ethnic Nationalism

Pre-existing characteristics or traditions lead to a shared sense of nation.

↓

The people may then create a nation-state if they choose to live together with others who share their sense of nation.

Civic Nationalism

People or peoples who share certain values and beliefs choose to live together in a nation-state. Their values and beliefs are often expressed in a constitution.

↓

The characteristics of the nation evolve over time, as common beliefs and values enable people to respect their differences.

Figure 1-24 Robinah Ssebazza holds her Canadian-born daughter and prepares to be sworn in as a Canadian citizen. Ssebazza was born in Uganda but chose to join the Canadian civic nation.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Describe your understanding of a civic nation.
2. Would you feel more comfortable about expressing your identity in a civic or an ethnic nation? Choose one photograph from this chapter to help support your position. Describe the photograph and explain how it supports your position. Feel free to qualify your answer with a phrase such as "It depends . . ."

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk
Founder of the Turkish Nation

Figure 1-25 Turks gave Mustafa Kemal another last name: Atatürk, which means "father of the Turks." Even today, Atatürk's memory is cherished. In 2007, Turkish military cadets gathered before a huge poster of Atatürk during a national celebration.

Before World War I, Turkey was part of the Ottoman Empire, which was ruled by a sultan. During the war, the Ottoman Empire fought on the side of Germany. When the war ended in victory for the Allies, the old empire was divided up among Britain, France, Greece, and Italy.

Britain was given control of much of Turkey. Many Turks did not like this. Mustafa Kemal was one of them.

During the war, Kemal had successfully led Turkish troops — and Turks viewed him as a hero. Kemal envisioned Turkey as an independent parliamentary democracy that would be controlled by the people rather than by a sultan, religious leaders, or foreign countries.

Kemal's vision attracted many Turks, who began fighting for independence. This struggle lasted three years, but by 1922, all foreign troops, as well as the sultan, had fled.

Kemal was elected president and held this post until his death in 1938. He and his supporters set about changing Turkey into a nation whose people's values were similar to those of many European countries.

- All Turkish citizens were granted the right to vote.
- New laws replaced the old Ottoman laws, which had been based on religious laws.
- Traditional dress was discouraged, and European-style dress was required in public.
- Women gained the same political and social rights as men.
- The official language was changed to Turkish from Arabic.
- An education system designed to promote tolerance was developed.

Kemal also believed that the Turkish republic should exist in peace with other nations. But many Turks say that his greatest achievement was encouraging them to switch their loyalty from an Ottoman sultan to their nation.

In 1927, Kemal gave a famous speech designed to inspire patriotism in Turkish young people. Here are some of his words:

> Turkish youth!
>
> Your first duty is to protect and preserve the Turkish Republic forever. This is the very foundation of your existence and your future. This foundation is your most precious treasure . . . You will find the strength you need in your noble blood.

EXPLORATIONS

1. Why would Turks have given Mustafa Kemal the last name Atatürk, which means "father of the Turks"?
2. In 2007, many Turks protested government plans to introduce more religion to the country's government. One protester told a reporter: "I am here to defend my country. I am here to defend Atatürk's revolution." Why might this protester have thought of her country and "Atatürk's revolution" as the same thing? Do you think this protester would call Turkey an ethnic nation or a civic nation? Explain why.
3. Read Atatürk's message to Turkish youth. Does anything about it inspire you? Does anything bother you? Predict whether a Canadian leader would say something similar to Canadian young people. If she or he did, would you accept this responsibility? Why or why not?

In what ways can identity and nation be related?

The desire to belong is one of the strongest desires a human being can feel. Think, for example, about the sense of belonging you feel when you are part of a group such as your family, your friends, your school, or your community. What other groups or collectives inspire you to feel as if you belong?

For many people, the idea of nation has the power to spark feelings of belonging to a much larger collective. When people feel this way, they have a sense of national identity.

Figure 1-26 A Sense of Belonging

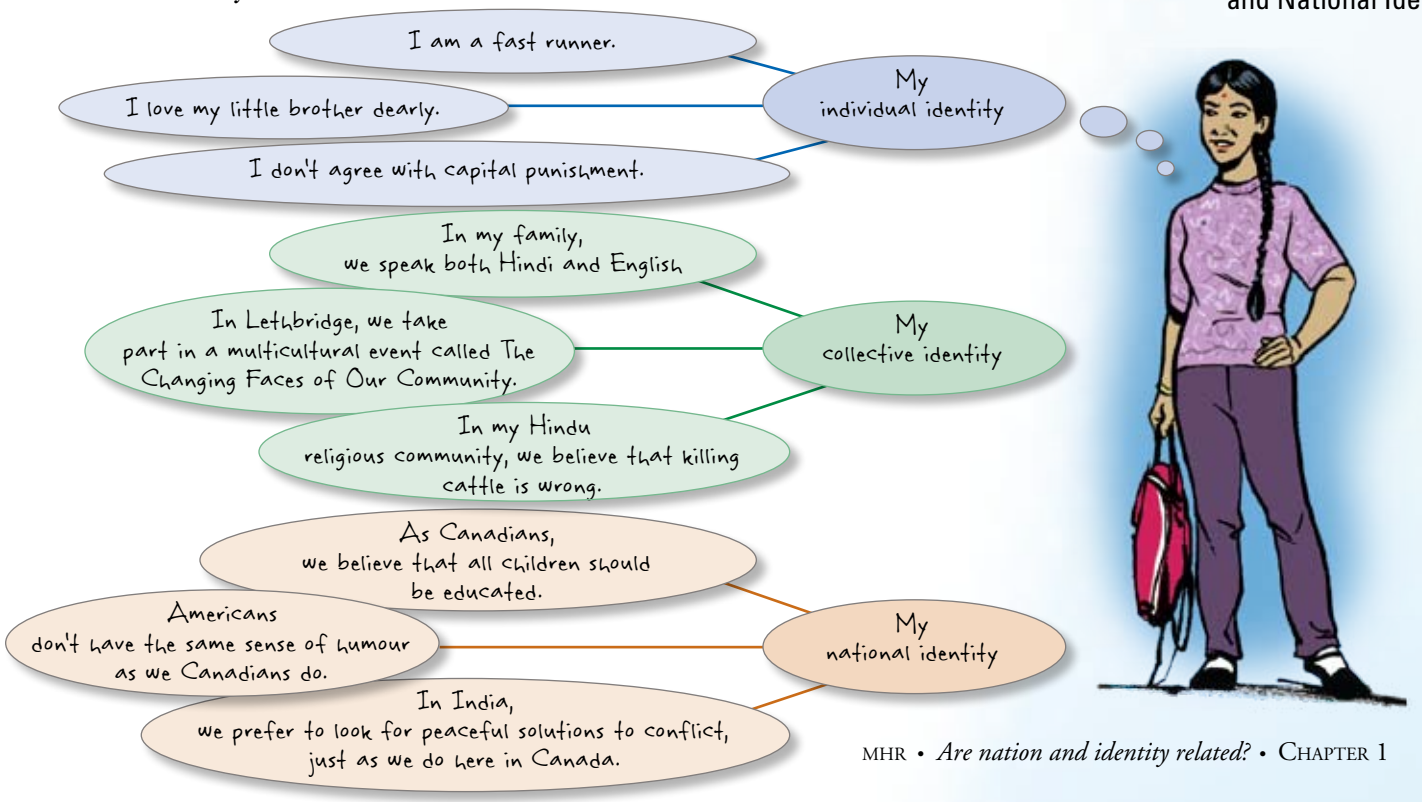
National Identity

In his book *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations*, psychologist William Bloom wrote that national identity refers to a condition "in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols . . . so that they may act as one psychological group when there is a threat to, or the possibility of enhancement of, these symbols of nationalism."

Bloom meant that people have taken the symbols of nation and made them part of their sense of themselves. This can happen consciously or unconsciously. As a result, a feeling of belonging to a nation becomes part of people's identity. This sense of national identity can be understood as a form of collective identity that is shared by many people.

The graphic in Figure 1-27 shows what a Lethbridge teenager of Indian heritage might say about her individual, collective, and national identity. Keep in mind that people can identify with more than one group and nation. Think about the language the teenager uses. When does she use "I"? When does she use "we"? What do these words tell you?

Figure 1-27 Expressions of Individual, Collective, and National Identity



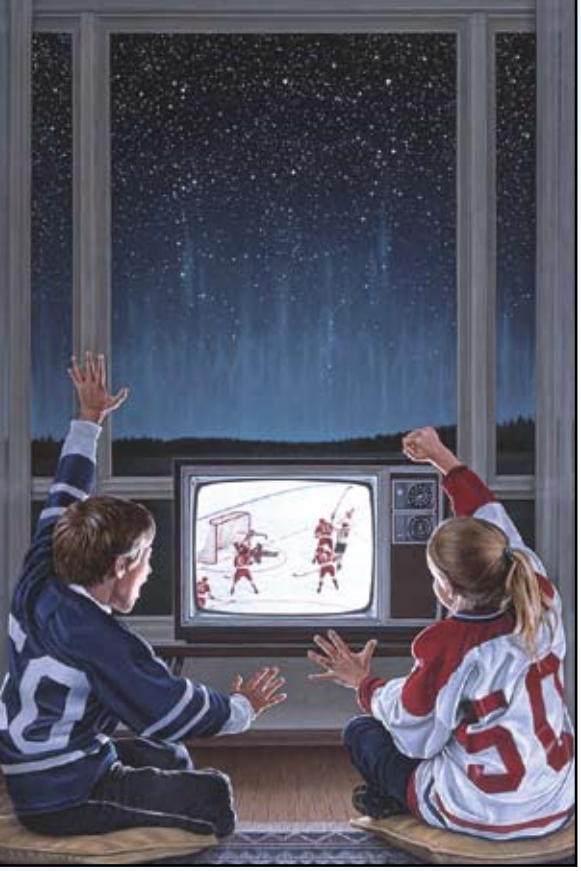


Figure 1-28 Canadian artist Ken Danby painted this picture of two children watching Paul Henderson score the winning goal in the 1972 Canada–USSR hockey series. For many Canadians, this famous series helped define Canada as a hockey nation. What other Canadian symbols does Danby's painting show?

Figure 1-29 Seth Rogen is one of the latest in a long line of comedians who have helped Canada become known as a pretty funny country. Rogen co-wrote and starred in the 2007 blockbuster teen comedy *Superbad*. Is the Canadians-are-funny myth accurate? How does this myth affect your identity?

How Stories Shape a Sense of Nation

National myths — shared stories, ideas, and beliefs that may or may not be accurate — help create a sense of nation. These myths can include ancient traditional stories and beliefs about what makes a nation special.

Myths often reach back into unrecorded history and have been passed on orally through generations. These shared stories connect people with their past. They also shape the way people look at the world. Folktales and true stories of heroism and bravery are examples.

Think about the stories told in your family, perhaps at family gatherings or other special family events. How do these stories connect you with your family's past and shape your family's shared view of the world?

Myths and the Civic Nation

Even when myths are not entirely accurate, they often include truths about who people think they are. Myths help people connect their sense of themselves — their identity — to the much larger group of people who form the nation.

In the case of a civic nation, creating myths helps citizens develop a shared sense of national identity. Canadians, for example, often think of themselves as a hockey nation. Even Canadians who have never played hockey and have no interest in this sport might identify hockey with Canada.

But this myth is changing. Hockey was once considered a sport for young men. Now, this game is played by people of all ages, including women such as Sheema Khan. Khan was born in India but immigrated to Montréal with her family. She wears a hijab, or headscarf, when playing hockey. People like Khan are changing Canadians' ideas about hockey — and Canadians' ideas about "us."

A recently created myth says that Canadians are funny — and that this collective sense of humour has helped produce a large number of famous comedians.

Scott Feschuk wrote in *Reader's Digest Canada*: "Canada has definitively emerged as the class clown of the global schoolhouse: Many of today's funniest American comedians are in fact Canadian — a list that includes Jim Carrey, Mike Myers, Martin Short, Eugene Levy, Catherine O'Hara, Dave Foley, Samantha Bee, Norm Macdonald, Leslie Nielsen, Michael J. Fox, Tom Green and Dan Aykroyd."

The relationship between citizens and national identity often goes both ways. Myths shape people's sense of national identity — and people shape the national myths. Do you, for example, think your identity is partly influenced by Canada's reputation as a comedy powerhouse?

The Changing Face of Joe Mufferaw

Joseph Montferrand was a Canadien logger who worked on the Ottawa River in the 1800s. Montferrand was a big man. Over time, stories about his strength grew into tall tales about Joe Mufferaw, an English pronunciation of his name. These tales helped Canadians create a myth of themselves as hardy people who could survive harsh conditions.

In the 1970s, Stompin' Tom Connors wrote and recorded a song about Mufferaw's exploits. One verse, for example, tells how Mufferaw put out a forest fire with five spit balls.

The tales of Joe Mufferaw reflected the way many Canadians wanted to think of themselves. Describe the identity this myth inspires in Canadians.

Figure 1-30 In 2005, a five-metre-tall statue of Joe Mufferaw was unveiled in Mattawa, an Ontario town on the Ottawa River. Peter Cianfriani, the sculptor, said the statue is life-sized — but perhaps this comment reflected the fact that Mufferaw had become a giant in the Canadian imagination.

Taking Turns

How is nation a part of who you are?

The students responding to this question are Harley, a member of the Kainai Nation near Lethbridge; Jean, a Francophone student who lives in Calgary; and Violet, a Métis who is a member of the Paddle Prairie Métis Settlement.

Harley

I think two nations are part of who I am. My first nation is Kainai. The Kainai and other First Nations have lived here longer than any others. Last week, my grandmother took me to Áísínai'pi. She had told me stories about this sacred place. Someday, I'll take my own children and grandchildren there, because I want them to know our history, too.

The funny thing is, I feel as if Canada is part of me, too. But my feelings about Canada are mixed.

I have a friend who's from Lebanon. His family is Francophone, and we sometimes talk about how his sense of Canada as part of his identity is much stronger than mine.

I tend to think of my nation as Franco-Alberta, but my friend, Wajdi, identifies more with Canada. Even though I was born here and he wasn't, and even though we go to the same Francophone school, his goal is to join the dominant English-speaking culture. He sees this as an important part of blending in and becoming "Canadian," but I think people can be Canadian in many different ways. Affirming and promoting your own culture is one of these ways.

Jean

Violet

For me, the answer isn't clear. Right now, I identify with the Métis people in our settlement, but I'm also thinking a lot about what will happen when I graduate from high school. A lot of kids leave Paddle Prairie to go to college or to get jobs in other places. They don't come back except to visit. They're still Métis, but they've made their lives somewhere else. And when that happens, I think being Canadian starts to become as important to them as being Métis.

I want to be a biologist, so I plan to go to university. But if I want to work as a biologist, I'll probably have to move away. Will my feelings about nation change? I'm kind of scared — and sad — that they will.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Harley, Jean, and Violet are answering? Explain the reasons for your response. How does your identification with a nation or nations reflect one or more aspects of your collective identity?

THINK...PARTICIPATE...RESEARCH...COMMUNICATE...

1. The issue question for this chapter asks whether nation and identity are related.

   a) Create a three-column chart like the one shown at the bottom of this page. In the first column, list five aspects of your individual identity. In the second column, note how the aspect you identified connects your identity to a group. In the third column, note how it connects your identity to a nation.

   Not every aspect of your individual identity will connect you to both a group and a nation. Two examples have been filled in for you. You will include five more.

   b) Sum up your analysis in a brief written response. Your paragraph might begin like this:

   > I believe that identity and nation are _____ connected. I base this conclusion on my own experience . . .

   In the rest of your paragraph, you may wish to use such phrases as "In some cases . . ." "It is often said that . . ." and "Though not everyone agrees . . ."

2. Reread the material on the tall tales about the real-life Canadian Joseph Montferrand (p. 37). To Canadien loggers, Montferrand was a hero who defended them against their English bosses. To English speakers, Joe Mufferaw was a symbol of the strength and hardiness of early Canadian settlers.

   In the 1970s, Stompin' Tom Connors wrote and recorded a song about Joe Mufferaw. The following are some verses from the song:

   > Big Joe Mufferaw paddled into Mattawa
   > all the way from Ottawa in just one day
   >
   > Hey-Hey
   >
   > On the river Ottawa the best man we ever saw
   > was Big Joe Mufferaw, the old folks say
   >
   > Come and listen and I'll tell you what the old folks say
   >
   > And they say Big Joe put out a forest fire,
   > halfway between Renfrew and old Arnprior
   >
   > He was fifty miles away down around Smith Falls
   > but he drowneded out the fire with five spit balls.

   Think about what someone like Joe Mufferaw might get up to in the Canadian West. What characteristics are typical of many Albertans? Choose one to exaggerate. You might, for example, pick bravery, a strong work ethic, know-how in the oil patch, skill with a lasso, computer skills, or business instinct.

   Work with a partner to create a verse like the one Stompin' Tom Connors wrote. Alternatively, write lyrics for a rap song, a short tale, or a comic strip. Share your tall tale with the class by telling the story, creating a comic strip, or writing and playing a song — or in some other interesting way.

Aspect of My Identity	Connection to a Group	Connection to a Nation
Love sports	Play on the school hockey team	Love hockey, the Canadian game
Speak Hindi at home	Can communicate with others at our temple	Keeps me in touch with my Indian heritage Helps me appreciate Canada's diversity

Skill Builder to Your Challenge

Choose a Name and Headline

The challenge for Related Issue 1 asks you to imagine that you are working at a magazine for Canadian youth. Your job is to contribute a feature to a special Canada Day edition. Your feature will explore connections between nation and identity in one of two ways:

- by creating a two-page spread for a print magazine
- by creating two screens for an online version of the magazine

In this first activity, you will name the magazine and choose a headline for your feature. As you consider your headline, you will hone your skill at assessing bias.

Step 1: Name your magazine

Think of an imaginative, marketable name for the magazine.

Step 2: Assess possible headlines for bias

Consider the following possible headlines. Your editor gave you these ideas to help you get started and to set the focus of your feature. Your first task is to analyze these possible headlines for bias.

1. The nation isn't you, so the nation is dead.
2. Give self-government to the tormented teen nation!
3. The Canadian Constitution: It's for wimps!
4. Stand up for your nation. Stand up for yourself.

To assess a headline for bias, answer these questions:

- Is it balanced?
- If it gives an opinion, does this opinion seem to favour one person, group, point of view, or perspective?
- What adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and verbs have been chosen to make you think a certain way?
- What assumptions, if any, does it make?

Step 3: Create more possible headlines

Rewrite the original headlines to make them neutral or to present a different bias. Be creative, and think of other possible headlines for your feature.

Step 4: Choose your headline

Choose the headline that best reflects your point of view about the relationship between identity and nation. Your headline may be neutral, or it can present a position.

Step 5: Analyze your choice

What does your choice reveal about your own biases?

Vocabulary Tip

Bias can range from a simple preference to a prejudice that interferes with the ability to make reasoned judgments. When thinking about bias, it may help to envision a continuum like this.

Preference	**Prejudice**
A like or dislike	An opinion formed without considering evidence or facts